1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

792 partly through the *baraka* of the saint. The saints who teach music here are of a higher class than the itinerant musicians whom they instruct.

Among the saints of the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja are those at Khunduktamda, descended from Sidi Abdullah el Kholani, from whom some of the Ikhuanen of the Gzennaya also claim descent. The latter send ambassadors once a year to build a fire in his tomb. At Aghbalu are saints who are students, but who fight and have no *baraka*. At Sidi Ali ben Daud in Marnissa and at Sidi Mehend u Ghulbuzur are similar saints. The students of Amshesh, who have no *baraka*, are yet classed as saints and refuse to fight.

Former saints who have died without leaving descendants are remembered by tombs, usually kept by wardens living on the produce of the tomb property. Other tombs have been deserted and allowed to fall into ruins. Sometimes a pile of stones, an ordinary grave, or merely a tradition, establishes the burial-place of a saint. Tombs are often located near a great rock, a spring, a grove, or at some other place of distinctive natural appearance, such as a cave, and this indicates that the hagiolatry of the Rif, like that of other Mediterranean countries and regions, is a survival of an older nature worship. Such places are credited with special magical powers attributed to the lingering *baraka* of the saint.

The tomb of Sidi Mohammed near Bured in the Gzennaya will serve as an example. This is located in a dense clump of bushes reputed to be full of wild animals, and the home of a venerable lion. Sidi Mohammed had a lion which served him, and followed him whenever he called him. While at Fez, Sidi Mohammed heard that a lion owned by the Sultan had fought and defeated all animals put in a ring with it, and boasted publicly that his lion could vanquish that of the Sultan. For this he was put in jail. While there he sent his servant to the Rif to get his lion, which would come if the words *a seba dh' amendud* were said before the clump of bushes. The servant recited this formula and led the lion to Fez, where it defeated all the others there. The Sultan then released Sidi Mohammed with a present, and the saint returned to the Rif with the lion. After he died his tomb was built in the clump of bushes, and no one has dared to enter the bushes for many years. The warden of the tomb does not enter, but farms the land around it.

At Sidi Merj in Bokoya is a *zawia* near a swampy pond full of lush vegetation. Students staying in the *zawia* declare that they have seen cats and dogs go in and out of the water at night, and that these animals are *jnun*. No one goes any nearer the pond than necessary.

[842] The cantonal mosque of Iherrushen in Gzennaya is accredited with the power to cause pregnancy, through the *baraka* of Sidi Misaud, who is buried there. Women come from other tribes to sleep in the mosque, since the *baraka* works during the night.

There are hundreds of these places scattered throughout the Rif and all Morocco. Although most Riffians believe in their efficacious powers, some do not, and there are many who do not believe in the powers of the Ikhemrijen shorfa and other imported saints. The people living east of Targuist do not credit them, while the Senhaja to the west of them do.

CELEBRATIONS

796 Celebrations of a religious character fall into two divisions, according to whether they are dated by the solar or lunar calendar. The former are considered by the Riffians to have nothing to do with Islam, but in accordance with the general hypocrisy of the people,

778 [823] [70] Narrow passages between stones or rocks, which are supposed to hold fast persons who have been cursed by their parents or other sinners, if they try to pass between them, but to benefit those who go through, are found in the vicinity of Sidi Mhammed u Sliman's shrine among the Iniknafen in Haha, Mulai 'Abdsslam ben Msis's among the Bni 'Aros [71] (the so-called l-hajra d l-moshotin), Sidi 'Ali ben Harazem's in Andjra, and Sidi Buhaiyar's among the Ait Waryager in the Rif; and in the wall of Sidi Hbib's qobba on the mountain bearing his name there is a hole to which similar qualities are attributed.

778 411 [842] [755] [73] Many cannons are regarded as holy and even as saints. Among the Ait Waryager in the Rif four of the mujahedin have cannons of unknown origin, to which sick people and women who want to become mothers tie torn-off pieces of their clothes.

[74] It is said that all guns partake of the baraka of the mujahedin, but this is of course pre-eminently the case with a gun which has been actually used in war against Christians; among the Ait Waryager such a gun is laid on the stomach of a barren woman to make her give birth to a child. The baraka of guns is shared by the rma, or shooters, and most of all by their chief, s-seh da r-rma. Their blessings are much sought for, and they are sometimes treated almost as if they were saints.

778 755 [84] In Morocco healing springs are very frequently connected with saint-shrines.

At the shrine of Sidi Mhand in the district of the Ait Waryager there is a spring the water of which is a remedy for the itch (ajajjid).

[85] In many cases the curative effect of a saintly spring is not attributed to the baraka of the saint alone, but also to the activity of friendly jnun who inhabit the spring. A famous [86] spring is attached to "the tombs of the Seven Men", seb'atu rijal, at Imzug in the tribe Ait Wauzgit in the Great Atlas, a place which is also known under the name of Lalla Takerkust, who is said to have been their attendant.

825 782 The spring or pond is crowded with tortoises, which are regarded as the spirits or "masters of the place" (idbab lmakan). If a person is suspected of being troubled with laryah, he makes a sacrifice at the spring, flays the victim, and throws it to the tortoises; he then smears his hand or foot with yeast, and dips it into the water; and if the suspicion as to the nature of his disease was correct, the tortoises will now come and eat the yeast and at the same time relieve him of his complaint. In the vicinity of the qobba of Sidi Malek, on the border between the Ibqqoyen and the Ait Waryager in the Rif, there is likewise

778 a spring or pond, containing tortoises, which is visited by persons
755 suffering from the same complaint. Thepati ent goes there, without being accompanied by anybody, on three consecutive Saturdays, throws bread to the tortoises, and washes himself with the water, all the time observing absolute silence; and [87] he then proceeds to the shrine, where he spends the night, and goes away on the following morning. On the third Saturday he kills at the threshold of the qobba a cock, a goat, or a sheep, which is eaten by the mqaddem and other persons who happen to be present, but he himself must not partake of the meal.

778 [89] Great efficacy is ascribed to sea-water. In Andjra a person
755 suffering from fever goes in the morning before sunrise to a deep spring
823 or river, descends into it up to the neck, and walks round in the water seven times; but if this does not cure him he goes into the sea, likewise up to the neck, and drinks a little water from seven waves. In
[783 the same district a newly-married wife lets seven waves go over her
8+2] body in order to remove evil influences causing barrenness. Among
[754] the Ait Waryager a person who has been prevented by sorcery from marrying or getting children has recourse to the same method of breaking the spell.

823 [92] Yet the sea is not quite subdued even now; it is ill-tempered, irritable, and still shows a spirit of opposition to the divine will and the religion of the Prophet, although it will change its character on the last day (Rif). If the Koran is recited on it, the sea will become rough and an accident will happen to the vessel; but prayers said on the sea produce no such effect. I noticed that when one of my servants, a man from Andjra, went into the sea to bathe he moved his lips, and when asked about it he afterwards told me that he made a recitation from the Koran; he evidently did it for fear of the sea, but he did it inaudibly. If a person on the sea-shore cries out the profession of the faith, "There is no god but God, and Muhammad is the prophet of God", the sea at once becomes rough (Andjra); nay, it does so even if women trill the zgarit on the shore (Ait Waryager).

777 [94] Elsewhere people who are selling something spit on the first coin they receive (Andjra, where it was said to give good luck), or say, "In the name of God", and then spit on the coin; and a person who receives money in the late afternoon or the evening, when there are many jnun about, spits on it so that it shall remain in his bag (Ait Waryager).

824 778 of God or some other holy word written on every leaf; and the baraka of its oil (Arab. zit; Berb. zzit [Igliwa], zzest [Temsaman]) may be so strong as to make the oil increase by itself and even become dan- [842] gerous. It is drunk by men in order to enhance their procreative power [843] (Ait Waryager), and pregnant women eat olives so that the child shall be good-looking (Tangier).

[109] Baraka is ascribed to the oleander, especially to the so-called "sultan of the oleanders" or "sultan of the oleander".

824 755 778 In various tribes it is the custom for scribes to write some words from the Koran or leaves of a "sultan of the oleander" (Tsul, Temsaman, Ait Waryager), or even of an ordinary bush of the same species (Ait Sadden) for sick people, who burn the leaves, let the smoke pass underneath their clothes, and inhale it.

[110] At Midsummer and asura there is miraculous virtue in a large number of vegetable species, and some of them have magic or medicinal qualities on other occasions as well. In the Hiaina sendgura (Lavandula stœchas or Teucrium Chamœpitys; also called sengdura, sengura, and, in the Berber of the Ait Yusi, tof ttarba) which has been gathered in the morning before the sun has risen and the hoopoe has made itself heard, especially on New Year's day, is said to contain one hundred and one medicines; it is taken internally by persons suffering from dysury, it is applied externally to the head in the case [23] of a headache, and it is given in milk to dogs troubled with a cold or, on the 17th of May (mut 1-ard), to savage dogs to make them tame. A Rifian from the Ait Waryager said that it contains seventy medicines, 842 and that it is used by women as a remedy for barrennes; it is dried in the sun, pounded, and mixed with honey, and then taken in the morning on an empty stomach.

[841] [111] Charcoal made of lentisk (Pistacia lentiscus; Arab. dro; Berb. fadis [Temsaman] or fadis [Ait Waryager]) is eaten by women suffering from irregular appearance of blood.

778 824 696 [112] The Ait Waryager use the fresh leaf of a palmetto (digazdand) as a means of getting back a stolen horse, mule, donkey, ox, or cow. Some scribes recite over it something from the [113] Koran, knot seven of its tips, and make fatha, after which they give the leaf to the owner of the animal. He ties it to the peg in the yard to which the animal used to be tethered; and this will have the effect that the thief will be unable to sell the animal. A friend of his will then go

627 one of the enemy's men who was with them when the sacrifice was
728 made and therefore could explain its object to his tribesmen. Peace is concluded on condition that they pay a certain sum of money, perhaps one or two thousand dollars, to the victorious tribe; but neither in this nor in the case previously mentioned is the peace of long duration—in a few months or, at most, in a couple of years the hostilities commence afresh. The Rifians make peace when their food is scarce; when they have much corn they fight.

574 [537] The duty of hospitality is also closely connected with the belief in the 'ar and the compulsion it carries with it. A guest is in the 'ar of his host, in accordance with the principle, "He who is in your house is in your 'ar".

[538] Among the Braber of the Ait Yusi and Ait Sadden, if two or three unknown strangers arrive on horseback, an animal is killed for their entertainment; but the lonely wanderer is also treated as a guest (anbg i, plur. inbg aun), spending the night in the mosque if he has no acquaintance in the village. The same is the case among the Rifians of the Ait Waryager; some one of the villagers brings food to the stranger and eats with him in the mosque if the fqi is not there, as somebody must eat with the guest. If the stranger knows any person in the village he is taken to his house, unless he has gone there in the first place.

It is considered necessary that the host should do his best to please his guest. The latter is received with a friendly welcome, and in the case of distinguished guests the greetings may be most profuse. The host sets before his guest all the food which has been prepared, and he should do so at once. If, for example, four fowls have been killed, they should all be served up; for l-'ain t at akul, "the eye is eating" (Fez), that is, the guest is delighted to see much food before him even though he cannot eat it all.

842 [559] Among the Ait Waryager parents who have lost a child de-
765 posit its shirt at a shrine as 'ar in order that they shall be blessed with another child.

776 [561] Mosques may also be asylums for refugees, who are there in
696 the 'ar of God and Sidna Jebril, the master of mosques. Among the Ait Waryager, I was told, a person who has fled to the mosque of a village is considered to be in the 'ar of the villagers and is therefore sheltered by them, whereas one who has fled to the shrine of a saint will be unscrupulously killed.

825 The wild-boar, as well as the domestic pig, is an unclean animal
[262] and must not be used for food; swine's flesh is strictly forbidden to Moslems in four different places in the [313] Koran.

[317] It is generally believed that the hyena possesses the power of fascinating people with a view to devouring them, a belief which is also found in the East and is spoken of by Pliny as existing in classical antiquity. If a hyena makes water on a person (Casablanca, Ulad Bu'aziz, Igliwa, Aglu) or wets its tail and then sprinkles him with the urine (Ait Sadden, Ait Warain), or when seeking him makes a noise (Ait Waryager), he becomes enchanted or loses his senses and follows the animal to its den, where it eats him.

[755] [319] The jackal contains much medicinal and magic virtue.

[842] [320] Childless men and women who are desirous of offspring burn the dried intestines of a jackal and fumigate themselves with the smoke, letting it pass underneath their clothes (Ait Waryager).

Among the Ait Waryager a person who is going out to steal puts the ear of a jackal in his bag in order to keep the dogs from barking; they will scent the smell of the jackal, of which they are much afraid.

[787] [321] To meet a jackal when you start on a journey is by some people said to be a good omen (Hiaina, Ait Waryager), but by others a bad one (Andjra, Aglu).

755 The fox contains 366 medicines.

825 [322] In other tribes the powder made of a charred fox, mixed with honey, or with honey, butter, and spices, is taken in the morning before breakfast as a cure for an affection of the heart (Ait Waryager) or for lberd (Ait Nder). Men who have been made impotent by witchcraft burn the penis of a fox and fumigate their own with the smoke.

[754] The gall of a fox is used by women for practising witchcraft, for example, with a view to inducing a man to divorce a rival wife.

[787] [323] Among the Ait Waryager the barking of a fox is supposed to indicate that the wind will be westerly, in Andjra and the Garb that it will be easterly. Charms are written on the skin of a fox.

The weasel is used as a medicine for horses and mules and, less often, for men. It is dried and burned, and the sick animal (Ulad Bu'aziz, Hiaina, Ait Nder, Ait Waryager) or person (Temsaman) is made to inhale the smoke.

[324] The blood of a hedgehog is smeared on the head of a boy suffering from ringworm (daqassar), so that it shall be covered with hair as the hedgehog is covered with bristles (Ait Waryager).